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INTRODUCTION TO INSTRUCTION FOR COMMUNIST  
FRACTIONS IN NON-PARTY INSTITUTIONS AND  
ORGANIZATIONS

The question of communist fractions (in America, caucuses) in non-party organizations is closely connected with the necessity of Communist Parties gaining an influence over large non-party masses. In order to achieve this, every Communist Party must have organs to conduct a communist policy within non-party organizations. Among these organs are also communist fractions (caucuses). Their correct organization determines the correct application of the directives of the Party, and guarantees the unity of communist will and tactics and ensures coordinate actions. In other words, without these qualities the Communist Party cannot properly carry on its work.

At the same time, the fact of the existence of communist fractions raises the question of their interrelation with Party organs. One cannot expect satisfactory results from the work of the communist fractions if these inter-relations do not promote the interests of the Party as a whole. The communist fractions are not independent autonomous organizations endowed with powers to deal with all questions of Party life. They are subordinate to Party organs which supervise and guide the work of the Party in the given region and in the locality where the work of the communist fraction lies. Thus, for instance, in a factory, the fraction in the factory committee is subordinate to the Party nucleus. The fraction in a town cooperative, a municipality or a trade union is subordinate to the local Party organization as represented by its committee. The fraction in any national congress or in a National Parliament is subordinate to the Central Committee of the Party.

The aforesaid order of subordination is easily understood, both in regard to the lowest and the highest communist fraction.

In a factory where the factory committee discusses and decides questions connected with the factory, the nucleus as a whole is responsible to the factory workers for the actions of the fraction in the factory committee. Therefore the Party nucleus cannot allow the fraction within the factory Committee to decide and act independently on behalf of the whole nucleus. The nucleus carries out its directives in the factory committee through this communist fraction. In the event of the fraction deviating from these directives or refusing to carry them out, the nucleus can recall such communists from the factory committee or compel them to submit to the directives by means of a special regulation. Such a procedure is justified by the fact that the communist nucleus, being the basis and the primary fundamental unit of the Party, carries out only the directives of the Party as a whole. Moreover, the communist nucleus has to discuss and decide questions

which concern the entire local organization or even the entire Party, while the fraction only deals with questions concerning the factory Committee.

This applies equally to fractions within local trade unions, cooperatives or municipal councils. The responsibility for the work, the actions or the decisions of any of these fractions to the workers and peasants, employees or government officials, does not rest with separate members of the fraction nor with the fraction as a whole. The responsibility to these sections of workers rests with the whole Party organization of the given town. But apart from the questions of responsibility, one must take into account that it is easier for the local Party Committee to get a clear conception of the general political situation. It can more easily determine what demands to bring forward at a given moment and what is of greater importance at this or that period. Therefore in the given case, the interests of the entire Party render it incumbent on the fractions to carry out implicitly all directives of the corresponding Party organs and always to work under the latter's guidance. At the same time, in their capacity as members of the Party, the fraction members in their nuclei and at general meetings of their sub-section, section, or local groups, have the right to discuss all Party questions. In these organizations they may also criticize Party organs for inadequate guidance and wrong directives given to the fraction by the Party organ.

The responsibility for decisions or actions at congresses and in Parliament, viz. for fractional actions on a national scale, rests with the Communist Party as a whole. Hence, the Central Committee of the Party must use great care and circumspection in the selection of communist candidates for Parliament, or for the fraction of the national trade union executive committee or for the executive committee of the factory committees. Careful selection in such cases will safeguard the Party from being compromised by the actions of communists within these fractions, and will ensure an adequate application of the Party policy.

Circumspection in this respect will also minimise the danger of insubordination on the part of the members of such fractions to the decisions of Party organs. For it must be taken into account that the more important the role of the communist fraction (in Parliament and in the national executive committees, trade unions, cooperatives, and factory committees), the stronger will be its tendency to emancipate itself from the influence of the Party.

Endeavours to create a homogeneous organization, capable of establishing contact with the masses and of leading the latter in a victorious struggle against capitalism, will not be realised, if Communist Parties neglect to organize communist fractions in all non-party organizations and to establish adequate inter-relations between the Party organizations and the communist fractions. But even the organization of communist fractions presupposes

that in the entire organizational work, the centre of gravity is transferred to the establishment of nuclei in the shops and to making these nuclei the basis of Party organization and the foundation of the entire Party.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR COMMUNIST FRACTIONS IN  
NON-PARTY INSTITUTIONS AND ORGANIZATIONS.

1. Wherever there are not less than three communists in workers' and peasants' organizations and in various institutions -- trade unions, cooperatives, educational, athletic and other societies, factory and unemployed committees, as well as at congresses, conferences and in municipal councils, parliaments, etc., -- it is essential to establish a communist fraction with the object of increasing Party influence and introducing the policy of the Party into non-party masses.

2. All communist fractions, regardless of their size and importance, must be subordinate to corresponding party organs -- the nucleus (the executive committee of the nucleus), group, local, district, (in America, nucleus, branch, section, local, district) or central committee, according to the position occupied by the given communist fraction (local or national). Such Party organs must issue the necessary instructions to the communist fractions (thus, for instance, the executive committee of a factory nucleus must control and direct the work of the communist fraction in the factory committee; in accordance with the directives received from the higher Party organs. District committees must control and direct the work of the communist fractions in all the non-party organs and organizations in its district, etc.). In all questions on which decisions were made by corresponding Party organizations, the fractions must strictly abide by these decisions.

3. When discussing in the Party committees questions concerning a fraction, the committee must carefully prepare these questions and organize preliminary conferences with the representatives of the fraction wherever existing police conditions allow.

4. Communist fractions, with the consent of the corresponding party committee, elect their executive committee, which is responsible to the corresponding Party organ for the work of the fractions.

5. During the interval between Congresses (conferences), the communist fractions within the executive committees of local trade unions and co-operatives are the guiding and unifying organs for all Communists in these organizations. The communist fraction in the executive boards of trades councils (in America, central labor councils, State federations of labour) and of

district co-operatives, are the guiding and unifying organs for all Communists in these organizations.

These fractions are all subordinate to the control of the local or district Party committee, but must also report to the fractions in local conferences or district conventions of trade unions and co-operatives. Candidates to the executive boards of the above-mentioned organizations are nominated by the fractions of the corresponding conferences and conventions in agreement with the local or district Party committee. The above regulations apply also to the national trade union and co-operative congresses or conventions.

6. The corresponding Party committee has the right to install or recall any member from the fraction, notifying the fraction of the reason for such action.

7. Communist fractions must come to an agreement with the corresponding Party organs with respect to candidatures to the executive boards of all the organizations and organs mentioned above. The same procedure is to be adopted with respect to recalls or transfers from one fraction to another.

8. Fractions have complete autonomy in questions of their inner life and current work. Party committees must not interfere with their everyday work. They must, on the contrary, allow fractions as much freedom of action and initiative as possible. In the event of serious differences of opinion between the Party committee and the fraction on any question within the competence of the latter, the corresponding Party committee must once more investigate this question together with the representative of the fraction, and arrive at a final decision by which the fraction must abide.

9. All questions having a political significance and subject to discussion by the fraction, must be discussed in the presence of representatives of the committee. The committees must delegate their representatives immediately on receipt of a notification from the fraction.

10. Every question subject to the decision of non-party institutions and organizations in which the fraction works, must be previously discussed at a general meeting or in the executive committee of the fraction.

11. Party organizations (nuclei, group (branch) local and other bodies, Party conferences and conventions or committees elected by them) should receive reports on the work of fractions, decide on the tactics and political lines of their further work etc.

12. At general meetings of non-party organizations, all fraction members must act and vote as a unit on all questions. Disciplinary measures must be taken against any Party members infringing this regulation.